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The
Outbreak
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THE
OUTBREAK
IN
CHINA

ITS CAUSES

BY

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Introduction

RECENTLY the eyes of the world have been directed toward China as never before. The unprecedented anti-foreign uprising has taken us by surprise, and found us at first quite unprepared to cope with it. All great cataclysmal catastrophes, however, are the result of forces that have been silently and secretly at work. So is it with this eruption in China. The missionaries, who live in closest touch with the people, and hence naturally know the temper of their minds, had been predicting for a long time that we were on the eve of the outburst of a mighty conflagration. The "North China Daily News," the leading paper of the East, also read aright the signs of the times, and uttered many warnings as to what might be expected. These prophets of unpleasant events were not,

however, greatly heeded. Blindness seemed to fall on the eyes of the foreign ministers in Peking, and, as their respective countries regarded the utterances of their official representatives as almost oracular, but little credence was given to statements of an ominous nature. Thus, although the outbreak came to people in the West like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, it was not without its preparatory stages and might have been foreseen.

My present purpose is to inquire into the causes of this outbreak. It may seem to some that this undertaking is superfluous ; they may argue, " Since the disturbance is come, we need not waste our time in speculating as to its causes, but only exert ourselves to suppress it and restore law and order." It is just because people are apt to reason in this way that the writer deems it important to make as clear a statement as he can of what he believes to be the origin of the trouble. Unless we know the causes, we cannot discover the best way of dealing with the disturbance, any more

than a physician can properly treat a disease until he has diagnosed it. Furthermore, unless we know the causes, and effect something toward their permanent removal, we can have no guarantee that similar outbreaks will not occur in the future.

To trace the origin of the present upheaval in China is no easy matter, for this anti-foreign outbreak, like the mythical hydra, has many heads. We cannot point to any one thing and say it is the sole cause of all the trouble. We may even carry our simile further, and say the present outbreak is also like the hydra, in that something more must be done than merely the chopping off of the heads of the dragon. The wounds must be cauterized, or the heads will grow again, and all our labor have been spent for naught.

Diplomats are proverbially lovers of peace, and it is greatly to be feared that the task now undertaken by the allied forces will be inadequately accomplished, and that the reign of diplomacy will inter-

vene, and the "patching-up" process be begun before the guilty have been brought to the bar of justice.

Unless drastic measures be employed, it will surely come to pass that the last state of China will be worse than the first.

It is in the hope that fuller information in regard to the condition of China, and a more perfect understanding of the causes of her misery, will lead to a vigorous and far-sighted policy on the part of the United States Government and other Western Powers, that this contribution to the study of the "China Question" is attempted. I will begin by tabulating a list of the causes, which I propose to discuss *seriatim*:

I. Predisposing causes.

1. Poverty of the masses.
2. Official corruption.
3. Innate spirit of exclusiveness.

II. Gradual break-up of the Chinese Empire after the war with Japan.

1. Seizure of Kiao-chao Bay by the Germans.
2. Lease of Port Arthur to Russia.

3. Lease of Wei-hei-wei to the British Government, and the extension at Kowloon.
4. Italy's demand for Sanmên Bay.
5. The extension of the foreign settlements.

III. Introduction of railways, concessions to foreign syndicates, and the subsidizing of China by foreign capital.

IV. *Coup d'état* of the Empress Dowager, and beginning of the anti-foreign movement.

V. Uprising of the "Boxers."

VI. Missionary enterprise.

Predisposing Causes

Predisposing Causes

AS with the individual, so with the body politic. When disease occurs we may look for predisposing causes.

1. One of the predisposing causes of the outbreak in China is, undoubtedly, the poverty of the masses. A large proportion of the Chinese people live on the ragged edge of starvation. This is especially true in the northern provinces, where the outbreaks have been most violent. This poverty of the masses is due to the density of the population, the unequal distribution of wealth, ignorance as to the best means for the production of wealth, and failure to develop locked-up resources. In the districts bordering upon the Yellow River it is further caused by frequent inundations, widespread and destructive, the impetuous river often overflowing its

banks. The Yellow River, known in China as "China's Sorrow," might be, as some one has said, more fitly called China's disgrace. These recurrent disasters could be prevented, but no determined effort has, as yet, been put forth by the authorities to eliminate this potent cause of poverty.

The Chinese are, as a rule, a contented people. According to Mr. A. H. Smith, "to be happy is more than they expect, but they are willing to be as happy as they can." Grinding poverty must, however, have its effect, and prepare them to take part in any uprising which promises to better their condition and secure for them more of the comforts of life.

2. When we add to poverty the long-continued tyrannical oppression of the people by their magistrates, we can see how the predisposing influences tending to the overthrow of the social equilibrium must needs be greatly strengthened.

The Chinese theory of government is quite ideal, but, as Mr. A. R. Colquhoun remarks in "China in Transformation," it

"exhibits the widest discrepancy of any known system between theory and practice, the purest ideal cloaking the grossest aims; a terrible example, in fact, of *corruptio optimi pessima*." The "squeeze" system permeates everything, from the Emperor down to the Yamên underling. The government exists principally for the benefit of the governors, and the magistrate's only thought is how he may mulct the people for his own enrichment.

China is generally regarded as a peaceful country, and yet, without exaggeration, it may be said there is hardly ever a time when a rebellion is not in progress in some part of the empire, and that all these rebellions are, in part, due to the rapacity and injustice of the ruling class. Whenever the misery of the people becomes unendurable, and the officials are obstinate, local uprisings take place. There is no other means of redress except the "sacred right of rebellion."

3. To these predisposing causes must be added a third—the innate spirit of exclusive-

ness. The anti-foreign spirit is not a new development in China, but has existed from the time when China first came into relations with European countries. A brief glance at history shows us how for thousands of years the Chinese never had intercourse with others than Asiatics. China was a *terra incognita*, shut off from the rest of the world, and what development it underwent was along its own peculiar lines. When a Westerner in China is called a foreign devil, it does not imply that the user of the expression has ransacked his vocabulary for some particularly opprobrious term. He is calling the foreigner exactly what he considers him. The overweening pride and arrogance of the Chinaman are his natal inheritance, and are as firmly rooted in his nature as any other national characteristic. It was an absolute impossibility for the Chinese to regard the British in any other light than that of suppliants begging a favor when, in 1840, they began to make their demands for commercial intercourse. Even as late as 1873, when

the first imperial audience was granted to foreign representatives at the capital, it was arranged to hold the ceremony in the hall set apart for the reception of the envoys of tribute-bearing nations. The progress of events may have enlightened a few of the better-educated Chinese as to the civilization of the West, and the power and wealth of Western countries, but to the great mass of the people the foreigner still remains the barbarian, one to be hated and avoided.

Whenever a good opportunity arises to give vent to his hatred the Chinaman is not slow to avail himself of it. Aside from the merchants engaged in commerce with foreigners, the Chinese cannot perceive that their country has gained in the slightest degree from foreign intercourse. They attribute the origin of her calamities to her weakly yielding to the demands of the barbarians from over the seas.

Gradual Break-up of the
Empire after the War
with Japan

Gradual Break-up of the Empire after the War with Japan

THE disastrous defeats suffered by the Chinese in the war with Japan, and the entire collapse of their army and navy, came as a rude surprise to Western nations. Much had been written and said in regard to the potential energy of China, and it was expected that she would prove a doughty antagonist to self-confident Japan. The result of the "pricking of the bubble" is what concerns us now. China's utter weakness was revealed to the world, and, as a consequence of this, a complete change of attitude was assumed by many of the Western Powers in their negotiations with the Court at Peking. "Where the carcass is there will the eagles be gath-

ered together." Up to the time of the war China had been treated with a certain amount of respect, and it was believed that diplomacy must win all that was wanted in the way of concessions. After the war the attitude of Western Powers became more and more aggressive, and it was realized that the threat of resorting to force could wring from her anything that was demanded. By the treaty of peace signed between China and Japan on April 17, 1895, the Liaotung Peninsula (including Port Arthur), Formosa, and the Pescadores were ceded to Japan, and an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels was exacted. China appealed to Western nations to help her in her hour of need, and Russia, Germany, and France took upon themselves to play the rôle of disinterested friends (?). In consequence of the remonstrances of these three powers, the Japanese were restrained from their intention of annexing the Liaotung Peninsula. From this date foreign aggression may be said to have begun. In return for her services Russia demanded

the right of extending the Siberian railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok, with a branch line to Moukden and Port Arthur. France claimed the extension of the Tonking railway into the Province of Kwangsi, and Germany demanded certain mining and financial privileges.

We can hardly blame the foreign powers for their several exactions. China had steadily refused to advance along the lines of Western progress. To treat with her diplomatically had proved worse than useless. Her utter impotence and her entire unwillingness to enter upon a course of reform are largely responsible for the high-handed manner in which she has been treated.

I. SEIZURE OF KIAO-CHAO BY GERMANY.

The first step toward the partition of China by the alienation of her territory was the seizure of Kiao-chao by Germany. I must give a brief narration of the events leading up to it. On the first of Novem-

ber, 1897, two German missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, Franz Nies and Richard Heule, stationed in the southern part of the Province of Shantung, were murdered by a band of armed robbers. At that time, Li Ping-hêng, a man of strong anti-foreign spirit, was viceroy of the province. He had closed his eyes to all hostile demonstrations of an anti-foreign nature, and was even suspected of having secretly encouraged them. Germany was swift in her demand for reparation, and the "mailed fist" came down with a heavy blow. German men-of-war were immediately despatched to Kiao-chao Bay, and the Chinese garrisons were driven out of the forts. A small body of men was landed on the coast, and remained there until a settlement was arrived at satisfactory to Germany. China was helpless to resist this invasion of only three ships and six hundred men. The German minister formulated his demands on the Tsungli Yamên under six heads: (1) 200,000 taels indemnity for the two German missionaries killed at Yen-

chao; (2) the rebuilding of the chapel destroyed in the riot, (3) the payment of Germany's expenses incurred in the occupation of Kiao-chao; (4) Li Ping-hêng, retiring Governor of Shantung, to be cashiered and dismissed from the public service; (5) the severest penalties upon the murderers of the German priests, and upon the local authorities where the riots had taken place; (6) *a*, Germans to be given the sole right to open coal mines throughout Shantung Province; *b*, special privileges to be granted Germans in the matter of railways in the said province; and *c*, Germany to be permitted to store coal at Kiao-chao in perpetuity." The result of the negotiations that followed was that Germany virtually obtained all her demands, and the permanent occupation of Kiao-chao began. The "North China Daily News" of December 3, 1897, ominously remarks, "The action of the Germans in Shantung is obviously a prelude to the partition of China."

2. THE LEASE OF PORT ARTHUR TO RUSSIA.

Other powers were not slow in following in the footsteps of Germany. Russia demanded a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan on the same terms as those granted to Germany at Kiao-chao. Russia's policy in the Far East has long been a subject of discussion. Her evident design is to wield a predominating influence in Manchuria and North China. Of this intention, the extension of her railway system affords a most convincing proof. Shut out from becoming a great European power by her lack of seaports, she is planning to hold the balance of power in the East. To accomplish this, the possession of an "ice-free" seaport open all the year round has become for her of prime importance.

Speaking of Russian policy, Mr. T. R. Jernigan, ex-Consul-General to Shanghai, remarked as follows in the "Philadelphia Manufacturer" of April, 1898:

“The money Russia is preparing to spend to complete her contemplated railways in China will not be expended with the expectation of immediate commercial returns, but as the means of a political and military conquest, thus securing advantageous positions for influencing and, if necessary, successfully attacking the two richest and most populous countries in Asia—important strategical positions being first acquired as chief factors in shifting the centre of gravity of the world’s trade. The plan is comprehensive, if not all-embracing, and if executed will not only cause the centre of gravity of the world’s trade but the world’s power to shift from West to East in acknowledgment of Russian ascendancy.”

In 1896 the terms of a secret treaty between Russia and China were published, which had been negotiated by the astute Russian Minister, Count Cassini. This treaty granted to Russia Port Arthur, Talienwan, the extension of her railways in

Manchuria, the guarding of these railways by Russian troops, and the erection of forts to protect the Siberian railway south of Vladivostok. In return Russia agreed to form an offensive and defensive alliance with China, and to lend her officers to drill her troops in Manchuria, Chihli, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu.

At the time when this treaty was made public, it was received with great incredulity. Nowhere was it more "pooh-poohed" than in Great Britain. Events have proved that all along there has been a secret understanding between China and Russia. Russian money has been used freely to influence powerful Chinese officials, and there has never been any strong resistance to her encroachments. In March, 1898, when Russia demanded the cession of Port Arthur and Talienwan, the Chinese Government readily complied, and made no pretence of striking a blow in defence of their territory.

In Port Arthur Russia gained one of the strongest naval bases in the world, and an important step was taken toward the accom-

plishment of her scheme of Eastern aggrandizement.

3. LEASE OF WEI-HEI-WEI TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The policy of Great Britain in China for some time past has been lamentably weak. Although the first to throw open China to the trade of the world, she has done but little to press her advantage. To her great credit, it should be said that whatever commercial privileges she has gained for herself, she has been willing to share with others. Latterly, the chief bugbear of Great Britain has been the partition of China. Without any well-defined substitute, she has strenuously resisted this dreaded division of the empire. Her fear of Russia's aggrandizement in the north is partly responsible for her determination to maintain China as "a going concern." Her policy has not been aggressive, and because she has continued to regard Chinese officials as men who were perfectly sincere in all

their undertakings, she has been hoodwinked and befooled more than any other of the Great Powers.

Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, in speaking of the policy of Great Britain toward China, characterizes it as "effeminate, invertebrate, and inconsequent. Swayed by every wind from without or within, and in opposition to the judgment of her own experienced representatives, she has pursued a course which has, beyond doubt, led to the decline of British prestige in Asia."

Great Britain could not, however, stand by, an idle spectator, and witness Germany and Russia obtain so strong a foothold in China. Consequently, she put forth her demand for the lease of Wei-hei-wei as soon as it was evacuated by Japan. China, as usual, was powerless to resist, and, making a virtue of necessity, granted a twenty-five years' lease of Wei-hei-wei to Great Britain in return for assistance in the payment in full of the indemnity owing to Japan. On June 24, 1898, the British flag was raised. In addition to this concession, in 1899 the

Chinese Government finally yielded to the claim of Great Britain for the extension of her territory on the mainland back of Hong-kong, and on April 16th the British flag was hoisted at Kowloon.

Before proceeding further, it were well to ask what has been the immediate effect of this gradual filching away of Chinese territory. It may be asserted most emphatically that it has tended to embitter the Chinese people more than ever against foreigners. The better informed of the officials realized China's weakness when they were forced to yield to these demands for cession of territory, but it was not so with the mass of the people. They still remained in the same dense ignorance. The news of China's reverses has always been softened down before it has been permitted to reach the ears of the populace. They continued to imagine that China possessed untold strength, and regarded those who entered into these various agreements as traitors to their country, acting from motives of self-interest. The chief

result of these concessions, so far as the Chinese people are concerned, has been to strengthen their inveterate hatred of the foreigner.

That this is so is evidenced by the numerous cases of friction between the Chinese and the newcomers. The occupation of Kiao-chao affords an illustration. On January 24th a German 'sentry was killed at Chimo. The German officials took justice into their own hands, and had the murderer, a Chinese shopkeeper, publicly executed. Again, in March of 1899, we find serious disturbances occurring in Shantung. Some nine native Christians belonging to the Roman Catholic Church were put to death, two of them being burned alive. Three Germans—Lieutenant Han-neman, Mr. Forschulte, and Mr. Moots—happened to be passing through the disturbed region. They were set upon by a large mob, and for a long time were hard pressed. Being armed, they managed to defend themselves, killing many of the Chinese, and escaped with their lives to

Ichoufu. By way of punishment for this assault, the Germans sent troops to occupy Ichoufu, and ordered that two native villages should be burned to the ground. Whether this action were justifiable or not, there is no doubt that it still further increased the feeling of enmity toward the Germans in Shantung.

The presence of the Russians in Manchuria has also been attended with much friction. The Russian soldiers have repeatedly acted in a most high-handed manner, but, owing to the good understanding between Russia and China, all difficulties have been smoothed over, and most barbarous outrages have been endured without protest.

In the matter of the delineation of the boundaries of Wei-hei-wei, serious difficulties arose. The Chinese officials attempted to play their usual game of procrastination, and placed all possible obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement. Inflammatory letters were circulated among the people, and they were incited to drive the British

from the mainland. A slight engagement took place between some native troops under British officers and Chinese soldiers, in which the latter were worsted. Then the Chinese, as usual, accepted the inevitable, and the officials acquiesced in the original agreement.

Owing, then, to these various occupations by foreign powers, we observe a new vigor in the anti-foreign spirit.

The people began to realize that the integrity of their country was threatened. The fear of the partition of China roused them as nothing ever did before, and the way was prepared for serious uprisings to throw off the yoke that they already felt restraining and coercing their country. This spirit of resentment not only energized in the masses, but aroused the hardly less ignorant Chinese officials; and the people were constantly abetted by them, no determined effort being made by those in authority to nip in the bud the growing disturbances.

(4) ITALY'S DEMAND FOR SANMÊN BAY.

This desperate resolve to withstand the further spoliation of Chinese territory manifested itself very clearly when Italy, following the example of the other powers, put in her claim, in the spring of 1899, for the cession of Sanmên Bay, in the Province of Che-kiang. To the great surprise of every one, China strenuously resisted the demand. This change of attitude was largely due to the Empress Dowager being at the head of affairs. Of her and her policy we shall have much to say later. Every preparation was made to show that Italy could not obtain Sanmên Bay without engaging in war, and the matter concluded in the demand being withdrawn. This successful resistance on the part of China has had great weight in the recent policy of the empire. How easy it was to argue, by "showing a bold front, Italy was checkmated. All that is necessary, is to meet all attempts of a similar nature with strong

opposition, and they will not be pressed." China's old pride was much increased by her seeming success.

(5) EXTENSION OF FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS.

The intention of foreign powers to tighten their hold upon China has also been shown by the demand for the extension of the foreign settlements in Shanghai, Hankow, and Tientsin.

In regard to Shanghai, from the point of view of foreign residents this extension was extremely necessary and greatly to be desired. When we consider, however, that the granting of additional land for the enlargement of the settlement meant virtually a grant of territory, we can see that the Chinese would naturally regard it unfavorably. To all intents and purposes the foreign settlement is a foreign concession; the only important authority the Chinese retain being the right to have a Chinese magistrate sit in judgment, with a foreign assessor by his side, on cases of

breaches of the law by the Chinese living within the settlement. Although most unwillingly, the Chinese were at last compelled to yield to the repeated demands of the foreign ambassadors in Peking, and grant some ten square miles of additional territory.

To sum up, then, the point I would make is that, from the Chinese standpoint, the ceding of Kiao-chao, the leasing of Port Arthur and of Wei-hei-wei, the extension of territory in Kowloon, and the enlargement of the foreign settlements, have all seemed acts of aggression. The people have never consented to them, and the officials have secretly been opposed to them. The spectacle of China being gradually hemmed in by foreign powers has made the Chinese realize that unless something could be done to stem the tide, the days of their empire as an integral and independent power were numbered. In this apprehension, and its consequent anti-foreign attitude, we have one very clear cause of the recent troubles.

Introduction of Railways, Con-
cessions to Foreign Syndicates,
The Subsidizing of China by
Foreign Capital

Introduction of Railways, Con- cessions to Foreign Syndicates, The Subsidizing of China by Foreign Capital

CHINA has come to be regarded more and more lately as a great market for the over-production of the West, and as a great field for the employment of Western capital. The commercial nations of the world—the United States, England, and Germany—have entered into keen competition with one another for the possession of this promising market. France is interested in China principally from political motives, and Russia chiefly from territorial; but they, too, are clamorous for their share of the expected profits. The picture of 400,000,000 of people with wants

to be supplied has been, and will continue to be, most alluring.

I will first speak of the field for the employment of capital in the construction of railways. Up to the present time China possesses only 317 miles of completed railways. The foreign powers, realizing the greatness of the opportunity, have been vying with one another in their attempts to obtain concessions for the construction of a vast network of railways to cover the whole empire. Lord Charles Beresford, in "The Break-up of China," gives a statement of the railways that are building and of those projected, and the names of the powers obtaining the different concessions.

In process of being constructed there are :

(1) The Lu-Han or Peking-Hankow Railway, a trunk line of about 700 miles. This has been capitalized by Belgian and French financiers, and is to connect Peking with Hankow. (2) The Shanhaikwan-Newchwang Railway—170 miles. This is to connect Shanhaikwan, where there are im-

portant coal fields, with Newchwang, and has been financed by a British corporation. The Russians, regarding Manchuria as their special sphere of influence, have unsuccessfully tried to get this concession out of the hands of the British capitalists. (3) The Stretensk-Vladivostok line, of which 1,000 miles are in Chinese territory. This concession to the Russian Government is of great strategic importance, and is rapidly nearing completion. (4) The Russian-Manchurian Railway. This is to connect the Stretensk-Vladivostok line with Taliénwan and Port Arthur, and is also a concession to the Russian Government.

The following is a list of the railways projected :

(1) The Taiyuan Fu-Chengting Railway, 130 miles, a branch line of the Peking-Hankow Railway. This concession has been granted to the Russo-Chinese Bank. (2) The Kiao-chao-Yichon-Tsinan Railway. It is a triangular railway in the Province of Shantung, and is entirely under the control of Germany. (3) The Tientsin-Chinkiang

Railway. It is to run from north to south-east of the Peking-Hankow Railway, and is an Anglo-German line. (4) The Hankow-Canton Railway. This is to connect the Yangtze River with Canton. It is an extremely valuable Anglo-American concession. (5) The Peking Syndicate Railway. This is to tap the rich mines in the Province of Shansi, and to connect them with the city of Siangyang, on the Han River, a tributary of the Yangtze. (6) The Tonquin-Nanning Fu, the Langson-Nanning, and Pakhoi-Nanning railways, the contracts for which have all been signed by the French. (7) The Shanghai-Nanking Railway. This is to connect Nanking with the coast, and has been capitalized by the British. (8) The Soochow-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway. This is to connect these three important cities with Shanghai, and is also a British concession. (9) The Burma Extension Railway. This is to connect the Burmese Railway with the capital of the Province of Yunnan.

I have given this long list in order to

convey some idea of the strife between syndicates now taking place in China. What concerns us here is not the immense value the possession of a complete railway system will have for China, but the effect of the demands for these concessions upon the Chinese.

Vast sums of money have been expended in the survey of these lines, but innumerable obstacles delay their construction. If those in authority had really been in earnest in the matter, many of these railways would not, as they do now, exist only on paper. The Chinese officials have, for the most part, regarded these various offers of foreign capital as affording so many chances of playing off the mutual rivalries and adverse interests of the Western Powers who threaten China.

These officials are astute enough to perceive that the more she employs foreign capital just so much the more China delivers herself into the hands of her enemies, and diminishes her own liberty of action.

In addition to the opposition, generally

secret, of the officials themselves, we must bear in mind the resentment felt by the people at seeing their country cut up by railways. The story of the construction of the first railway in China—the short line from Shanghai to Woosung—is too familiar to need repeating. Suffice it to say that the vast mass of the people living in the interior feel the same horror toward the railway as the villagers around Shanghai evinced in 1877.

The superstition most deeply rooted in the mind of the Chinese is that of *fengshui*. The good or bad luck of any situation depends upon the favorable influence of the wind and water. Anything violently disturbing this influence is, according to their reasoning, sure to lead to disaster. The railway is bound to effect such a disturbance. Mountains must be tunnelled, rivers spanned, hills levelled, and depressions elevated. In addition to thus affecting the influence of the wind and water, the railway is responsible for the no less serious calamities resulting from the viola-

tion of ancestral graves. The railway, which must take the shortest and straightest cut possible to its destination, can pay but little heed to the grave-mounds dotted all over the country.

As an illustration of how the people regard the introduction of railways, we need only remember that every party of foreign surveyors which has been engaged in China, in the interior of the country, has had to be protected by a strong force of soldiers in order that it may successfully conduct its operations. General Parsons, in his survey of the Hankow-Canton Railway, met with little opposition; but the officials saw to it that he was well protected. Captain Pottinger, in his survey connected with the Yunnan Railway Commission, did not come off so easily, but met with determined opposition—in fact, he had to fight his way through a part of the Province of Szechuen. In other words, the people of China do not want the railway, and the persistent effort to construct it strengthens their anti-foreign sentiment.

We must also bear in mind that, in addition to railway syndicates, China has been flooded with mining syndicates and commercial commissions. The altruistic spirit of these commercial pioneers is not very apparent to the Chinese. *We* know that it will be advantageous for China to have her mines opened, but the Chinese, partly from superstitious reasons, and partly from their innate conservatism, do not believe so, and especially object to its being done by foreign capital.

I think then, if we look facts fairly in the face, and try by an act of imagination to see things from the ignorant Chinaman's point of view, we can understand how this great influx of foreign capitalists into China has exerted a most disturbing influence upon the mind of the people, and has thus also been one of the causes leading up to the recent outbreak.

Coup d'État of the Empress Dow- ager, and the Beginning of the Anti-Foreign Movement

Coup d'État of the Empress Dowager, and the Beginning of the Anti-Foreign Movement

I MUST briefly review the events which paved the way for the now famous *coup d'état*. In the spring of 1898, when the ship of state seemed slowly but surely drifting toward destruction, a reform movement began to make itself felt in China. The Emperor Kwang Hsü was greatly influenced by a band of young officials full of schemes for the reformation of the empire. Their leader was Kang Yü-wei, a man of undoubted ability and strong personality. The Emperor bent himself in earnest to the task of carrying out the reforms suggested by these ardent and radical patriots. On July 19, 1898, an edict was issued in regard to new methods to be employed in

the examinations of scholars throughout the empire. When we remember that the primary condition of official employment in China is the passing successfully of the imperial literary examinations, we can well see what far-reaching consequences this reform would have. Instead of confining the examinations to a knowledge of the Chinese classics, and to the writing of *Wên-chang* (essays in a stilted style) upon texts selected therefrom, there was to be required "a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and information in regard to the present-day state of affairs, with special reference to the governments and institutions of the countries of the five great continents, and on the arts and sciences thereof."

The *Wênchang* was to be discarded entirely.

In a postscript to the above-noted decree his Majesty remarks that "without doubt fine and beautifully executed penmanship is a good thing, but it is useless for practical purposes. Hence, in future examinations, no weight is to be given to fine

penmanship in essays, which, in former examinations, used to go so long a way toward assisting a candidate to obtain his degrees. But not to throw it wholly into disuse, promise is made to those who have fine penmanship that when such is required a special edict will be issued for an examination of fine calligraphists to fill certain posts in the government requiring this accomplishment."

The effect of this edict, if carried out, would be to raise up in China a body of officials competent to understand, and cope with, questions of the day, to supplant the present incumbents, whose knowledge and sympathy are limited to the ages of antiquity.

Among other reforms proposed were the following: (1) A complete reorganization of the government; new boards being established, and those that were useless abolished. (2) The establishment of colleges and technical schools for the advancement of scientific knowledge, after the most approved methods of Western nations. (3) The right to memorialize the

throne directly was to be conferred upon all officials throughout the empire,' without distinction of rank. One reformer was even bold enough to suggest that "the Emperor and the whole country abolish the *queue* and present Chinese dress for the fashions of the West! Another, that the country embrace the Christian religion as the state religion, and still another advised his Majesty to take the Empress Dowager on a visit to the Japanese Mikado, in order to see for themselves the pitiful state of China as compared with Japan, which had thrown away the obsolete customs of a bygone age and adopted everything Western. An education of the eyes, by such a trip, is worth a hundred thousand suggestions on paper."

The effect of these suggestions and reforms was startling. It was at once disclosed that there were many in the empire who were heartily in favor of them. In an editorial in the "North China Daily News," of September 1, 1898, we read:

"One hopeful sign is reported by our

correspondents in the interior—the readiness with which the decree has been accepted doing away with the writing of essays, *Wênchang*, as the great test of scholarship and fitness for official employment. Seriously as this change affects a vast number of teachers and scholars, it has been accepted as reasonable and necessary. Hundreds of thousands of aspirants for office all over the empire are putting aside the classics and trying to get a smattering of Western knowledge, with which they may confound examiners more ignorant than themselves; everywhere the provincial officials are being bullied into the establishment of schools and colleges for the inculcation of Western learning; and the most bigoted mandarin who values his position and prospects of promotion is turning to the formerly despised missionaries for advice and assistance.”

As may easily be imagined, the old conservative officials of Peking, and the Empress Dowager, regarded all these innovations with consternation and distrust. The last

straw to break the camel's back came when the Emperor removed from public service two presidents and four vice-presidents of the Board of Rites for refusing to present to him, unopened, the memorial of a reformer named Wang Chau, and dismissed Li Hung Chang, as being a reactionary, from the Tsungli Yamên.

The immediate cause of the *coup d'état* was the discovery of a plot to remove the Empress Dowager to a place of confinement, so that she might be powerless to hinder the new *régime*. It is generally supposed that Kang Yü-wei suggested to the Emperor that, if he would render his own position secure, he must retire the Empress Dowager, and also decapitate Yung Lu, her henchman, who was in command of all the Northern military and naval forces. To effect this latter step, secret instructions were given to Yuan Shih-kai, the present Governor of Shantung Province, to repair to Tientsin, where Yung Lu was, and to behead him immediately. Up to this time Yuan Shih-kai had been posing

as a reformer ; but, after receiving his instructions, he turned traitor to the Emperor. Instead of taking the life of Yung Lu, he informed him of the Emperor's command, and then, in company with him, moved a large force of men to Peking to support the Empress Dowager. Upon their arrival at the capital, the Emperor was deposed. The deposition was accomplished so suddenly that the reform party was entirely taken unawares. The first explanation of the *coup d'état* to reach the world was contained in the Emperor's imperial decree of September 22, 1898. We quote in full :

“ PEKING, 22d September.

“ At the present moment, when our empire is undergoing a most important crisis, filled with the heaviest responsibility and difficulties to us, and the internal government of the country, for the benefit of the masses, demands our closest attention, there may have been matters of high importance which, in spite of our earnestly and dili-

gently laboring day and night at our work, may, among the myriads of matters requiring our decision, slip from our notice, to the general detriment. That is what now fills us with apprehension. Now, her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager, Tze Hsi, since the first years of the reign of the late Emperor Tung Chih down to our present reign, has twice ably filled the regency of the empire, and never did her Majesty fail in happily bringing to a successful issue even the most difficult problems of government. In all things we have ever placed the interests of our empire before those of others, and, looking back at her Majesty's successful handiwork, we are now led to beseech, for a third time, for this assistance from her Imperial Majesty, so that we may benefit from her wise and kindly advice in all matters of State. Having now obtained her Majesty's gracious consent, we truly consider this to be a great boon both to ourselves as well as to the people of our empire. Hence we now command that from henceforth, commencing with this morning,

the affairs of State shall be transacted in the ordinary Throne Hall, and that tomorrow (23d) we shall, at the head of the Princes and Nobles and Ministers of our Court, attend in full dress in the Ching-cheng Throne Hall, to pay ceremonial obeisances to her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager. Let the Board of Rites draw up for our perusal the ceremonies to be observed on the above occasion."

Then began a reign of terror. All connected in any way with the reform movement were seized, and banished or decapitated. Kang Yü-wei was able to make his escape to Shanghai on a British man-of-war, and from there fled to Japan.

It was also announced that the Emperor was ill, and unable to hold the reins of government; but this, of course, was merely a ruse to throw dust in the eyes of the foreign ministers resident in Peking.

The Empress Dowager proceeded to surround herself with Manchu officials of the most anti-foreign and conservative type. Yung Lu was retained in Peking as the

head of all the forces of the Province of Chihli and the Northern Squadron. A decree, dated September 26, 1898, was promulgated, abolishing *in toto* all the reforms that had been attempted by the Emperor. It purported to come from the Emperor himself. Speaking of the abolition of useless Yamêns, the decree goes on to say:

“Our real desire was to make away with superfluous posts for the sake of economy; whereas, on the contrary, we find rumors flying abroad that we intended to change wholesale the customs of our empire, and, in consequence, innumerable impossible suggestions of reform have been presented to us. If we allowed this to go on, none of us would know to what pass matters would come. Hence, unless we hasten to put our present wishes clearly before all, we greatly fear that Yamên petty officials and underlings will put their own construction on what commands have gone before, and create a ferment in the midst of the usual calm of the people. This will indeed be contrary to our desire, and put our re-

forms for strengthening and enriching our empire to naught.

“We therefore hereby command that the Supervisorate of Instruction and other five minor Courts and Boards, which were recently abolished by us and their duties amalgamated with other Boards for the sake of economy, etc., be forthwith restored to their original state and duties, because we have learned that the process of amalgamation contains many difficulties and will require too much labor. We think, therefore, it is best that these offices be not abolished at all, there being no actual necessity for doing this. As for the provincial bureaus and official posts ordered to be abolished, the work in this connection may go on as usual, and the viceroys and governors are exhorted to work earnestly and diligently in the above duty. Again, as to the edict ordering the establishment of an official newspaper, the “Chinese Progress,” and the privilege granted to all scholars and commoners to memorialize us on reforms, etc., this was issued in order that a

way might be opened by which we could come into touch with our subjects, high and low. But as we have also given extra liberty to our censors and high officers to report to us on all matters pertaining to the people and their government, any reforms necessary, suggested by these officers, will be attended to at once by us. Hence we consider that our former edict allowing all persons to report to us is, for obvious reasons, superfluous, with the present legitimate machinery at hand. And we now command that the privilege be withdrawn, and only the proper officers be permitted to report to us as to what is going on in our empire. As for the newspaper, "Chinese Progress," it is really of no use to the government, while, on the other hand, it will excite the masses to evil; hence we command the said paper to be suppressed (abolished).

"With regard to the proposed Peking University and the middle schools in the provincial capitals, they may go on as usual, as they are a nursery for the perfection of

true ability and talents. But with reference to the lower schools in the sub-prefectures and districts there need be no compulsion, full liberty being given to the people thereof to do what they please in this connection. As for the unofficial Buddhist, Taoist, and memorial temples which were ordered to be turned into district schools, etc., so long as these institutions have not broken the laws by any improper conduct of the inmates, or the deities worshipped in them are not of the seditious kind, they are hereby excused from the edict above noted. At the present moment, when the country is undergoing a crisis of danger and difficulty, we must be careful of what may be done, or what may not, and select only such measures as may be really of benefit to the empire."

A decree, dated September 29, 1898, also purporting to come from the Emperor, exhibits his complete subjection to the Empress Dowager :

" All know that we try to rule this empire by our filial piety toward the Empress

Dowager ; but Kang Yü-wei's doctrines have always been opposed to the ancient Confucian tenets. Owing, however, to the ability shown by the said Kang Yü-wei in modern and practical matters, we sought to take advantage of it by appointing him a Secretary of the Tsungli Yamên, and subsequently ordered him to Shanghai to direct the management of the official newspaper there. Instead of this, however, he dared still to remain in Peking pursuing his nefarious designs against the dynasty, and had it not been for the protection given by the spirits of our ancestors he certainly would have succeeded. Kang Yü-wei is therefore the arch conspirator, and his chief assistant is the M. A. Liang Chi-tsao, and they are both to be immediately arrested and punished for the crime of rebellion. The other principal conspirators, namely, the Censor Yang Shên-hsiu, the brother of Kang Yü-wei—Kang Kuang-jên—and the four Tsungli Yamên secretaries, Tan Sze-tung, Lin Hsiô, Yang Jui, and Liu Kuang-ti, we immediately ordered to be arrested and imprisoned by

the Board of Punishments ; but fearing that if any delay ensued in sentencing them they would endeavor to entangle a number of others, we accordingly commanded yesterday (28th September) their immediate execution, so as to close the matter entirely and prevent further troubles."

Thus was this great reform movement crushed in its cradle. The pity of it all is that our foreign representatives at Peking were so blind in the whole matter. They regarded it merely as a "family quarrel" in an Eastern Imperial Court, and felt that it was no concern of theirs. With the exception of the British Government conniving at the escape of Kang Yü-wei, not a hand was raised to help the Emperor in his hour of direst necessity.

If ever there were a time when interference was justifiable it was just at this crisis ; but the golden opportunity was allowed to slip through the fingers. Patriotic reformers were put to death without any protest being offered, and this band of devoted young men were "pooh-poohed" at as vision-

aries, who would have ruined their country if permitted to carry out their schemes.

Little was it thought that this anti-reform crusade of the Empress Dowager was a prelude to the present anti-foreign outbreak. Yet so it has proved itself to be. No sooner had the Empress Dowager seated herself firmly upon the throne, than there occurred a remarkable change in the spirit of her dreams. Always anti-foreign in her proclivities, she began to make ready for the present outbreak. Great military preparations were in evidence, and an unusual activity was to be perceived in the arsenals throughout the empire. Troops were massed about the capital, Tung Fu-hsiang being commanded to lead his Kansu troops to Peking. Every one wondered what it all meant, and thought that perhaps China had really determined to try an issue with Russia, and free herself from the hated domination of the Slav. The ministers at Peking never dreamed that it was part of a deeply laid plot "to drive foreigners into the Yellow Sea." We have already remarked on

the successful resistance of the Empress Dowager to Italy's demand for Sanmên Bay.

The Empress Dowager showed her hand plainly in the secret edict dated November 21, 1899, and sent to her viceroys, governors, Tartar generals, and provincial commanders-in-chief. The edict has recently come to light, and we here quote it in full :

“Our empire is now laboring under great difficulties which are becoming daily more serious. The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this empire can never consent to, and that, if hardly pressed upon, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors. No one can guarantee, under

such circumstances, who will be the victor and who the conquered in the end. But there is an evil habit which has become almost a custom among our viceroys and governors which, however, must be eradicated at all costs. For instance, whenever these high officials have had on their hands cases of international dispute, all their actions seem to be guided by the belief in their breasts that such cases would eventually be 'amicably arranged.' These words seem never to be out of their thoughts; hence, when matters do come to a crisis, they, of course, find themselves utterly unprepared to resist any hostile aggressions on the part of the foreigner. We, indeed, consider this the most serious failure in the duty which the high provincial authorities owe to the Throne, and we now find it incumbent upon ourselves to censure such conduct in the most severe terms.

"It is our special command, therefore, that should any high official find himself so hard pressed by circumstances that nothing short of a war would settle matters, he is

expected to set himself resolutely to work out his duty to this end. Or, perhaps, it would be that war has already actually been declared; under such circumstances there is no possible chance of the Imperial Government consenting to an immediate conference for the restoration of peace. It behooves, therefore, that our viceroys, governors, and commanders-in-chief throughout the whole empire unite forces and act together without distinction or particularizing of jurisdictions so as to present a combined front to the enemy, exhorting and encouraging their officers and soldiers in person to fight for the preservation of their homes and native soil from the encroaching footsteps of the foreign aggressor. Never should the word 'Peace' fall from the mouths of our high officials, nor should they even allow it to rest for a moment within their breasts. With such a country as ours, with her vast area, stretching out several tens of thousands of *li*, her immense natural resources, and her hundreds of millions of inhabitants, if only each and

all of you would prove his loyalty to his Emperor and love of country, what, indeed, is there to fear from any invader? Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves from the ruthless hands of the invader."

It is to the last sentence that we would especially call attention. Do not these words throw down the gauntlet?—" *Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves from the ruthless hands of the invader.*"

At the Empress Dowager's command a circular was issued by the Tsungli Yamên to the viceroys and governors, with the object of further impressing upon them the need of firmness in resisting the demands of foreigners. The most important clause of this document reads as follows :

"This Yamên has received the special commands of her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager, and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor, to grant you full power

and liberty to resist by force of arms all aggressions upon your several jurisdictions, proclaiming a state of war, if necessary, without first asking for instructions from Peking; for this loss of time may be fatal to your security, and enable the enemy to make good his footing against your forces."

The circulation of these decrees caused a wave of patriotic excitement to overspread the empire. They acted as an incentive to defiance, and so immensely increased the anti-foreign spirit.

The anti-foreign policy of the Empress Dowager was still further shown by her appointment of the most pronounced anti-foreign mandarins to posts of commanding influence. The office of Li Ping-hêng, Viceroy of Shantung, deposed after the murder of the German missionaries, according to the agreement with Germany, was filled by a man equally opposed to foreigners and their interests—Yü Hsien—during whose administration the recent outrages in the province commenced. Li Ping-hêng himself was restored to power by the Empress

Dowager, and made Imperial High Commissioner and Generalissimo of the forces of the Yangtze. Li Hung Chang, one of the Empress Dowager's great favorites, was reinstated, and, after a time, appointed Viceroy of Canton.

Another important step taken by the Empress Dowager, in preparation for the uprising, was the appointment, on June 15, 1899, of Kang Yi, "an utterly ignorant old Bourbon," to inspect the fortifications and garrisons of the empire and to raise a large sum of money for the depleted imperial treasury. Kang Yi, in his visits to the Southern provinces, successfully accomplished his mission as "Lord High Extortioner," and collected two million taels for his mistress. This sum was undoubtedly expended in warlike preparations—in the purchase of guns and ammunition.

Still another effort of the Empress Dowager was her coquetting with Japan. Two commissioners were despatched to Japan for the purpose of forming an offensive and defensive alliance with the Island Em-

pire. Her plan was to unite the yellow man in a crusade against the white man. Owing to the two commissioners revealing too much of what was intended to be kept secret, they were recalled in disgrace, and the proposed treaty came to nothing. These plans of the Empress Dowager were undoubtedly somewhat hampered by factions within the empire. Prince Ching, a member of the royal family, was the head of one powerful faction, and Yung Lu of another. Between these two men the greatest jealousy existed, and more than once civil war between the two parties was threatened.

The last act in the drama of the usurpation of the imperial power by the Empress Dowager, was her attempt, in January of this year, to rid herself entirely of the deposed Emperor Kwang Hsü, and to place a puppet of her own upon the throne. Kwang Hsü really owed his throne to his imperial aunt, for he was not the legitimate successor of the preceding Emperor, Tung Chih. He was raised to the throne because,

owing to his youth, the Empress Dowager, as Regent, would continue at the head of the State. Although her protégé, she must have felt, when he began his reform measures, that she had warmed a viper in her bosom. Having no further use for him, by the *coup d'état* she usurped his power; but his presence at the capital was a perpetual source of danger, as he would always remain a rallying centre for the reform element in the empire. Accordingly, on January 31, 1900—Chinese New Year—it was announced that Kwang Hsü had abdicated, and that the son of Prince Tuan, a child named Pu Chün, was about to ascend the Dragon Throne. This news came like a clap of thunder. All the smouldering brands of the reform party were fanned once more into a blaze.

The design of the Empress Dowager was evident; namely, to make away with Kwang Hsü, and, by placing a child upon the throne, to perpetuate indefinitely the present anti-reform *régime*. Protests came from all over the empire. Even the representatives of

the Western Powers were stirred to oppose this crowning act of usurpation. The following loyal telegram was sent by the Manager of the Imperial Chinese Telegraphs and 1,230 other signatories to the princes and ministers of the Tsungli Yamên :

“ When we received the edict of the 24th instant, in which the Emperor proposed to abdicate on account of illness, we were amazed, and the mandarins, gentry, and merchants from all the provinces residing in Shanghai became full of anxiety, and discussed the matter everywhere in the streets. We, therefore, wire to you to beg of you to be loyal and faithful, and, on behalf of the nation, to implore the Emperor not to think of abdicating, though he should be unwell, so that the Empress Dowager, at her advanced age, may not have the extra burden of ruling a distracted empire, and so that the spirits of our ancestors may be at rest and the people live in peace.

“ Signed by KING LIEN-SHAN, prefect, and by 1,231 in all.

“ 12th moon, 26th day.”

The Empress Dowager was infuriated on the receipt of this telegram, and indignant, also, at the opposition shown by foreigners to the accomplishment of her scheme.

A reign of terror was at once instituted. Orders were given for the arrest of King Lien-shan, and he was pursued to Macao, whither he had fled, and taken prisoner. Charges of peculation were trumped up against him, and, were it not for the intervention of foreigners, he would long ago have been executed. Other reformers were ruthlessly hunted down, and an attempt was made to extirpate them from the empire.

The opposition displayed had, however, the effect of inducing the Empress Dowager to alter her plan so far that Pu Chün was declared heir-apparent, instead of being proclaimed Emperor, and Kwang Hsü, in close captivity, was allowed to live.

I have traced in detail the steps leading up to the *coup d'état* and the events immediately following. My purpose, in so doing, has been to make apparent the responsibility of the Empress Dowager for

the present state of affairs. Before I proceeded to discuss the "Boxer" movement, I wished to make it clear that all along the Empress Dowager herself has been the leader in the anti-reform and the anti-foreign propaganda. She is the evil genius animating the whole movement. All that has been done has been in accord with her will and inspired by her spirit.

How any sane man, and especially one who has lived in Peking as the United States Minister, could have the temerity to draw a comparison between the Empress Dowager and Queen Victoria, remains beyond our comprehension; and yet we find Colonel Denby, in a recent article, giving utterance to so astounding a flattery. It is almost the worst case of *myopia* of which there is any record.

The bigoted, blind, relentless anti-foreign spirit of the Empress Dowager, although not the only, is, perhaps, the chief cause of the present outbreak in China.

Uprising of the “Boxers”

Uprising of the "Boxers"

CHINA is, par excellence, a country "honey-combed with secret societies." The names of some of these have become familiar in the West, such as the "High Binders" and the "Triad Society." Many of them date back to the founding of the present Manchu dynasty—the Ta Ching—and originally had as their chief object the restoration of the Ming dynasty, and the extermination of the Manchus.

In process of time the original aim of these societies has been lost sight of, and some have degenerated into "mere tools of private schemers or the hobbies of busy-bodies and agitators." There is a sort of freemasonry among the members of these societies, and they possess a regular form of ritual. In time of trouble, their complete

organization renders it easy for them to foment disorder and incite to rebellion.

The secret societies that have been most prominent in China during the past few years are the *Ko-lao Hui*, the "Great and Little Second Societies," and the *I Ho Chüan*, or, as it is popularly called, the "Boxers."

As soon as the Empress Dowager had usurped the throne, these societies, taking their cue from her and her advisers, immediately began to create disturbances. The leaders knew that she secretly sympathized with their projects, and that no great force would be exerted against them. They took as their motto the words, "Protect the Ching dynasty; exterminate the foreigners," and thus, strangely enough, societies which originally had as their main object the expulsion of the Manchus became the ardent supporters of the reigning dynasty, and were ready to abet the Empress Dowager in her most cherished scheme of expelling the foreigner.

The *I Ho Chüan*, or the "Righteous Har-

mony Fists," familiarly called the "Boxers," originated in Shantung. Their name probably indicates that they have consecrated their strength and resources, as true patriots, to the cause of harmony in China.

They began their crusade in the autumn of 1899. Everywhere there was drilling and the enlisting of fresh recruits. Their method of warfare is peculiar; they rely for the preservation of their lives in battle upon charms and incantations. They are armed, for the most part, with swords and spears, and but very few possess modern weapons. They believe that their charms and incantations render them absolutely invulnerable to foreign bullets, and so are ready to advance against the enemy with the utmost intrepidity. In fact, their fanatical spirit is what chiefly characterizes them. They began their depredations by burning and looting the houses of native Christians throughout the provinces of Shantung and Chihli. Emboldened by the little opposition they experienced from the officials, they next proceeded to attack the Christians

themselves. Their enmity to native Christians—Roman Catholic and Protestant alike—is owing to the fact that they regard them as having gone over to the side of the foreigner. Native Christians are often referred to by the “Boxers” as second-grade foreigners.

When the disturbances first occurred, Yü Hsien was Viceroy of Shantung, and, although appealed to again and again by the missionaries throughout the province to give adequate protection to Christian converts, he remained wholly indifferent to their petitions. A force of soldiers despatched against the Boxers, led by Yuan Shih-tun, brother of Yuan Shih-kai, was reported to have won a victory; but the “Boxers” were only scattered, to assemble in another district.

The correspondent of the “North China Daily News,” writing from Northwest Shantung in December, 1899, draws attention to the utter supineness of the Chinese Government in dealing with the growing disorder, and shows how hopeless the condition of affairs was becoming:

“Meantime the resident foreigners have been by no means idle, but have bombarded the Tientsin consul with telegrams, and have telegraphed and written to the provincial capital to get their friends there to bring some pressure to bear on the governor through the so-called Foreign Bureau (*Yang Wu Chü*), which is supposed to have to do with matters in which foreigners are concerned. This office now informs us that we may ‘rest our hearts,’ as orders have been issued to the local magistrates to ‘protect’ the foreigners, when it is well known that, whatever the disposition of those officials, they have no force at command to antagonize the tens of thousands, or perhaps hundreds of thousands, who belong to the Boxer fraternity, and when the government forces are ordered to do nothing, but serve as figureheads. All that any consul can do under these conditions is to communicate with the Governor-General of Chihli (if in that province), or with the Governor of Shantung direct. Each of these high officers acknowledges the receipt of the com-

munication, and promises to attend to it, which is then accomplished in the manner hereinbefore fully described. It is impossible to say at what point these volcanic forces will make their next eruption or what damage they may do.

“Nothing now seems more certain than that the Chinese authorities either cannot, or will not, *govern* this province, not to speak of those which are adjacent. If there are any foreign governments, German or other, in a position to extend their ‘spheres of influence’ to Shantung, the change will be welcomed with joy by a large part of the native population, and by the now numerous foreigners *en masse*.”

The editor of the “North China Daily News,” in the issue of the same date, December 5, 1899, in an editorial entitled “A Threatened Conflagration in the North,” indulged in a prophecy which, alas! has only been too fully realized. He says :

“We desire to emphasize the affirmation that unless the career of the *I Ho Chüan* and its affiliated societies is speedily checked,

we are likely to have the lawless conditions of Sze-chuan during the reign of Yü Mantze repeated, with variations, and with possible serious loss of foreign lives which ought to be protected. The *I Ho Chüan* is a professedly patriotic organization, the object of which is to help the government to do what it cannot do alone. Some of its leaders may be sincere in this purpose, but this only makes them the more dangerous. Such a movement inevitably and speedily gathers to itself all the lewd fellows of the baser sort, always thirsting for opportunities for free food, and especially for plunder and pillage. There is but one method of successfully dealing with such risings, which is that applied to conflagrations—to put them out before they have made headway; for otherwise there comes a time when no power can restrain the tremendous forces thus liberated for mischief.”

The only observers who still remained blind to the possibility of an explosion were the foreign ministers. They seem to have been dazzled by the glamour of an Oriental

court, and have never showed the least indication of having grasped the situation.

A new Governor, Yuan Shih-kai, was appointed to Shantung, in place of Yü Hsien, recalled to the capital, and at first it was thought that the Empress Dowager was afraid to allow the disturbances to continue, and had sent Yuan Shih-kai, with his well-drilled soldiers, to act with a firm hand. Such was, however, far from being the case. Yü Hsien, when he arrived at Peking, was received with honor by the Empress Dowager, rewarded, and appointed Governor of Shansi. The "Boxers" were, consequently, emboldened to advance beyond the mere baiting of defenceless native Christians, and they turned their attention to the foreign missionary. The first missionary to be murdered by them was the Rev. S. M. Brooks, of the S. P. G. Mission, in North China. Mr. Brooks was stationed at Pingyin, and had gone to Taiyuan to visit his sister, who had lately arrived in China as the bride of the Rev. H. J. Brown, of the same mission. On his way back to

his station Mr. Brooks was attacked by the "Boxers" and wounded, and afterwards beheaded. An attempt was made by the British Government to bring the murderers to justice. A trial was held before the Provincial Judge of Shantung, in conjunction with Mr. C. W. Campbell, of Her British Majesty's Consular Service, and some few scapegoats were decapitated by way of punishment. The result, however, was only to increase the bloodthirstiness of the "Boxers."

In the issue of the "North China Daily News," dated February 14, 1900, occurs the significant prophecy, that unless the leaders of the Boxer movement be immediately arrested, "it is morally certain that the opening spring will witness a rising such as foreigners in China have never seen before. The whole country, from the Yellow River to the Great Wall and beyond, will be in a blaze of insurrection, which will not only annihilate every foreign interest of every sort in the interior, but will drive every foreigner out of Peking and Tientsin under conditions which it is not difficult to fore-

see. There has been more or less danger of such an uprising for a long time. Unless strong and united efforts are now put forth, it is as certain to take place as any future event can well be. Those who are interested in preventing it will act accordingly." Such warnings as these were disregarded, with the consequences with which we are, unhappily, so familiar, and which have appalled the whole civilized world. Yuan Shih-kai failed to suppress the disturbances. His failure may be attributed to the fact that he knew his imperial mistress was not in earnest, and that his own soldiers were largely in sympathy with the "Boxers."

The governor showed his weakness in the instructions forwarded by him to the missionaries in the province. The editorial in the "North China Daily News" for March 19, 1900, commenting upon these instructions, remarks :

"'As far as the Chinese Government is concerned,' says our correspondent, 'the whole thing is much like a public school,

where the mistress will not allow the good children to go out in the yard lest the bad boys pound them. Only in this case the mistress and the bad boys seem to be in partnership, while the school board (the foreign ministers) sanction the proceeding, being afraid that otherwise somebody will raise a rumpus and break up the school.' General Yuan Shih-kai, we learn, has notified his subordinates to communicate with the heads of the different missions within his jurisdiction, instructing them that 'the missionaries are not to come and go as they please, but only when it is absolutely necessary to travel on important business; and in such cases they are to apply to the nearest local official, who will provide them with a military escort.' The value of such an escort, if the missionary encountered a party of well-armed 'Boxers' may be imagined. After specifying some less important requirements, Yuan Shih-kai goes on to say: 'In case any of the missionaries refuse to comply with these requests, and the "Boxers" cause trouble, the local offi-

ciala cannot well be held responsible for the missionaries' safety.' "

It is unnecessary to tabulate recent occurrences in China, and I may close my narrative here. What has transpired has fully proved that there never could have been a "Boxer" movement if it had not received encouragement from those in highest authority. From the beginning the Empress Dowager has viewed the "Boxers" as a most important ally, to be employed, when the proper moment arrived, for "driving the foreigners into the Yellow Sea." In the edicts issued against them there has always been a note of insincerity. She constantly refers to them as "patriots," although cautioning them to refrain from disturbances. The complicity of the Chinese Government is proven without a shadow of a doubt by recent events. The upheaval undoubtedly took place before the Empress Dowager was ready for it; but as soon as it became a fact we find the imperial troops and the "Boxers" acting in concert. The detention of the ministers at Peking, and the

attempt to massacre them, were both by the command of the Empress Dowager. She and her cherished adviser, Prince Tuan, have showed their hands most plainly. The documents found in the Yamên in Tientsin, after the capture of that city, implicate the Imperial Government to the fullest extent.

The Boxers, we may conclude, precipitated the outbreak before the government was quite prepared; but the storm was brewing even previous to their appearance, and sooner or later was bound to burst. It is difficult for us to conceive of such stupendous ignorance and fatuous folly as has been displayed by the Empress Dowager and her clique; but, after all, the attempt to drive the white man from China does not differ very materially from the attempt of the Hindoo to expel the British from India. Fanaticism, race hatred, and dread of complete subjugation to the foreigner are among the strongest motives that sway the human race.

Missionary Enterprise
in China

Missionary Enterprise in China

THE recent troubles in China are often attributed, by superficial critics, to the active missionary work in progress in the empire. It is argued (1) that the missionary antagonizes the religious beliefs of the people; (2) that he interferes in political affairs; that he depends upon the strong secular arm to help him in his work, and pleads, whenever he considers himself in danger, for the protection of the gunboat; (3) that he arrogates to himself the airs and prerogatives of an official of the empire, and (4) that he disseminates doctrines that can only lead to rebellion.

We must endeavor to examine these charges with an unbiased mind, in order to discover whether they are well founded, and to how great an extent missionary work

may be held responsible for the outbreak in China. (1) The first accusation is that the missionary antagonizes the people and, acting in the spirit of an iconoclast, disparages Confucianism and derides Buddhism.

It is asked: "If the Evangelists of some new faith were to appear in England, drawn from a race whom we hated and despised, and were to commence their preaching by denouncing the Bible, and crying an anathema upon the Apostles' Creed, what sort of a reception would they meet with?"*

In a spirit of entire frankness, we do not think that the missionary body can, as a whole, plead not guilty to this indictment. When one considers the vast number of missionaries in China, and how religious enthusiasts are apt to be men of ill-balanced minds, it cannot but be that some few will be found engaged in missionary work who endanger and injure their cause by indiscretion in word and deed. Having admitted this, we are still far from holding missionary enterprise responsible for the re-

* Curzon's "Problem of the Far East," p. 289.

cent troubles. The Chinese, as a race, are not a religious people, but, on the whole, are extremely indifferent as to spiritual matters. They have no respect for Buddhism. It is a foreign religion in China, and they will listen with great and apparent enjoyment to attacks made upon the follies of Buddhistic teaching and idolatry. If the Chinese possessed sincere religious convictions, there might be some show of reason in tracing the origin of the outbreak to the fact that their feelings had been outraged.

For the teachings of Confucius and for the Sage himself, the Chinese, high and low, have a most profound respect ; but we do not think that missionaries, as a class, can be accused of intentionally attacking the Confucian Code of Ethics. The missionary, after all, is a man of some common sense, and soon perceives that he gains his point better by some apt quotation from the classics in support of his plea, than by criticising the teachings of the great Sage. We must also bear in mind that for idolatry *per se*, the

Chinaman himself has not a good word to say. The Confucianists will join hands heartily with the Christian in his condemnation of image worship. The follower of Confucius looks with contempt upon the Buddhist and Taoist sects, and regards their cults as, perhaps, good for women and children and the ignorant, but of no value for the scholarly man.

To us in the West, the subject of supreme importance is religion. It is not so in China. And any argument based upon this assumption is utterly fallacious. In making this defence, we do not forget that, of course, there is a sense in which Christianity is bound to antagonize the Chinese. The founder of the Christian religion Himself said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword." Wherever the Christian Church has spread, by its fundamental doctrines it has introduced revolutionary forces. The Christian Church cannot countenance ancestor worship. Apart from the religious question involved therein, it perceives that this practice works untold harm in China, keep-

ing the faces of the people ever turned toward the past instead of toward the future. Again, the Christian Church calls upon its converts to exalt the will of God above the will of the Emperor. When, as in the Roman Catholic Church, the Pope is regarded as God's vicegerent on earth, we can see what disastrous results must follow. An illustration of this was furnished by the controversy regarding a proper translation for the word "God," when the Romish converts were forced to accept the Pope's decision as outweighing the wishes of the Emperor of China. But those Protestant Bodies which emphasize least of all the existence of a visible church, are engaged in founding in China a society which has its own laws and forms, and which differentiates the Christian Chinaman from his countrymen. As Christianity gains a firmer hold in China, it is bound to become more and more unpopular with the heathen, and cannot expect to escape persecution. I am convinced, however, that the age of persecution from purely religious motives has

not yet arrived, and that unless there had been other more active causes, the recent massacre of Christians would not have transpired. Indeed, among many of the heathen, Christianity, at present, is regarded with much favor. They are impressed by its benevolent aspect, and appreciate the benefits to be derived from the schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions which missionaries establish.

(2) The second charge is that Christianity is unpopular because of political interference, its dependence upon the strong secular arm, and the clamor for gunboats in the hour of danger. Missionaries are said to claim special privileges on behalf of their native converts when they are engaged in litigation or other disputes, and generally to interfere in the civil affairs of the neighborhood in which they reside. In answer to this indictment, we fear that Roman Catholic missionaries, at least, will have to plead guilty. Undoubtedly of late years the Roman Catholic priests have persistently brought pressure to bear upon the local

officials to decide all cases of litigation in favor of their converts. Many have been attracted to their fold by the hope of obtaining the powerful assistance of the Church in lawsuits. Protestants, too, have not been wholly guiltless of this political meddling, but in their case, the interference has been attempted only when they believed that the cause was a just one.

The fact to be born in mind, however, when we would pass judgment upon missionaries for this method of procedure, is the almost utter impossibility of a Chinaman obtaining justice in a Chinese court of law. Nothing but bribery will win a lawsuit in China, and the innocent man who falls into the clutches of the Chinese mandarin without the wherewithal to grease his palms is in a bad plight. It is surely natural that when a missionary sees justice outraged, and knows by his intercession he can procure the punishment of the guilty and the release of the innocent, he should be led to make it. The wisdom of such a policy may be debatable, but the tempta-

tion to pursue it, while China remains the utterly corrupt country she now is, must always be very great. That this policy is one to be resorted to only when all other modes of procedure have failed is, however, we can honestly say, the opinion of the vast majority of Protestant missionaries, and their practice proves it. We wish we could speak as positively of Roman Catholic missionaries, but we fear it must be frankly owned that by their continued interference in the courts of the magistrates, by their defence of their converts, however unworthy these converts may be, and by their tempting proselytes with this bait of the help of the arm of the Church, they have done much to antagonize the Chinese.

As to the second part of this charge—the appeal for armed assistance—the criticism is often made that “though the missionaries buckle on their armor as the soldiers of Christ, they remember in times of peril that they are citizens of this or that Empire or Republic, and clamor for a gunboat by

which to insure respect for the Gospel." * It is sometimes jocularly said that in former days missionary work was conducted in the spirit of *Henry Martyn*, but that in these present times it is more often attempted in the spirit of the *Martini-Henri*. Can this charge be substantiated? In the first place, is it true? We think that it is founded upon gross exaggeration. When appeal has been made for such assistance it has only been after the most violent outrages. If missionaries in China were ministering to cannibals, or barbarians such as are found in darkest Africa, they would expect to take their lives in their hands, and there could be no thought of an appeal for protection to Home Governments; but it is not so. They take up their residence in the interior of China relying upon treaty rights. Their safety is guaranteed to them by the Chinese Government. It may be unfortunate that these rights were obtained as the result of wars, but surely they are not to be waived on that account. The Im-

perial Government has repeatedly promised to protect both the life and property of all engaged in peaceful missionary enterprise. Read, for instance, the Imperial Edict published in the "Peking Gazette," June 13, 1891 :

"The right of foreign missionaries to promulgate their religions in China is provided for by treaty and by edicts, which were previously issued ; the authorities of all the provinces were commanded to afford them protection as circumstances required. . . . The religions of the West have for their object the inculcation of virtue, and though people become converts they still remain Chinese subjects and continue to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the local authorities. . . . The local authorities are bound to afford due protection at all times to the persons and property of foreign merchants and foreign missionaries, and must not allow them to be injured by evil characters."

When massacres take place, then, it is the duty of the missionary to enter pro-

test, and ask for reparation. In the eyes of the Westerner, a treaty is a sacred thing, and the Chinese Government must be compelled to abide by its own promises. If the missionary had been more clamorous and if the Home Governments had supported him more energetically, we would not have been landed in the present wretched state of affairs. The indisposition, on the part of Home Governments, to exact condign punishment from China for the violation of treaties, especially where missionaries are concerned, has led China to believe that, after all, the missionary's life is not regarded as of very great value, and that no serious consequences will follow if a few be murdered.

We must remember, ere we condemn the missionary, that after the Kucheng massacre the C. M. Society of the Church of England actually asked the British Government to seek no redress from China. We are of the opinion that this society was guided by false principles of sentimentality, but we refer to their action in

order to show how unjust it is to charge the missionary with always appealing for vengeance to the Home Government.

(3) The third charge brought against the missionary is that he arrogates to himself the airs and prerogatives of the officials of the empire.

In answer to this charge we are reluctantly obliged to admit that, as regards the Roman Catholic missionaries, it is a just one. The idea of being a society possessed of temporal power has always been cherished by the Roman Church. Her missionaries in China have accepted the imperial offer of assuming the status and prerogatives of officials of the empire, and have gone far beyond the letter of the decree in setting up their own tribunals and undertaking to govern their converts.

The principal articles of the decree conferring rank upon the Roman hierarchy are as follows (I quote them in full, as I have found much ignorance as to the peculiarly aggravating attitude of the Romish Church in China):

“AN IMPERIAL DECREE.

“PUBLISHED ON THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1899.

“Churches of the Catholic religion, the propagation of which has been long since authorized by the Imperial Government, having been built at this time in all the provinces of China, we long to see the Christians and the people live in peace, and, in order to make their protection more easy, it has been agreed that local authorities shall exchange visits with missionaries under the conditions indicated in the following articles:

“1. In the different degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, bishops being in rank and dignity the equals of viceroys and governors, it is agreed to authorize them to demand to see viceroys and governors.
. . . Vicars-general and archdeacons will be authorized to demand to see provincial treasurers and judges, and taotais. Other priests will be authorized to see prefects of the 1st and 2d class, independent

prefects, sub-prefects, and other functionaries.

“2. When a mission affair, grave or important, shall come up unexpectedly in any province, the bishops and the missionaries of the place should ask for the intervention of the minister or consuls of the power to which the Pope has confided the protection of religion. These last will regulate or finish the matter, either with the Tsungli Yamên or the local authorities. In order to avoid protracted proceedings, the bishop and the missionaries have equal right to address themselves at once to the local authorities, with whom they may negotiate the matter and finish it.”

The missions of the Anglican Communion and other Protestant Churches have unani-mously refused to ask for any similar privileges, foreseeing clearly that, although the possession of such would vastly increase their power, yet this assumption would be attended with the gravest dangers, and could not but make their cause unpopular in the eyes of the Chinese.

Here, again, we must state that it is our conviction that the policy of the Roman Church in this matter has been one of the causes of the present outbreak; but, at the same time, we must not forget that, had it not been for the weakness and inability of the Chinese Government to preserve order and suppress anti-Christian disturbances, the Roman Catholic Church would never have been in a position to demand or secure the rights which she now possesses.

(4) The fourth and last charge against missionaries calls for only a few words. They are said to disseminate teachings that inevitably lead to rebellion. To this indictment the missionary would probably willingly plead guilty. He knows that he is pouring "new wine into old bottles." He is proud to be a leader in the great movement of enlightening the Chinese. He establishes schools and colleges, and teaches in them what constitutes true civilization, and what it is necessary for China to learn if ever she would take her place among the progressive nations of the world. He trans-

lates books on religious, ethical, political, economical, and scientific subjects, and is doing all in his power to stir up the stagnant pool that surrounds him.

It may truly be said that the missionary has been the founder of the Reform Party in China. What then? Must he desist from his efforts in order that the old *laissez-faire* policy of those interested in keeping China as she is, may succeed? We think not. The policy that trembles at the thought of any possible disturbance of trade is extremely short sighted. For the present gain it would relinquish vast future possibilities.

The Christian missionary never incites to active rebellion; but if his teachings tend to produce revolution and to accomplish the formation of a new China, he ought to receive the gratitude of the whole human race. He is bound to impart the knowledge of which he has become a legatee, and cannot be frightened from his task by the probable consequences.

We conclude, then, that although the

spread of Christianity has been frequently attended with anti-Christian riots, the missionaries have been attacked rather because they were foreigners than because they were propagators of the Christian religion.

What Shall be
Done about It?

What Shall be Done about It?

I HAVE now discussed, to the best of my ability, the causes of the present outbreak. We have seen that it is dangerously near developing into a national uprising directed against foreigners, and we have attributed the chief responsibility for it all to the Empress Dowager and her anti-foreign clique.

The questions that are uppermost in every one's mind at present are, first, What shall be done to allay the storm? Second, After the disturbance has been suppressed, what shall be done with China?

We can give here only the briefest answers to these two questions.

As we stated at the outset, it seems to us all important that the Western Powers

should clearly recognize that they are dealing with something more than a local rebellion, and should fully comprehend the complicity of the Chinese Government in the whole affair.

China must be once for all thoroughly humiliated. Upon the Empress Dowager, Prince Tuan, Kang Yi, Tung Fu-hsiang, and other leaders the heaviest punishment possible must fall. China must be taught finally the lesson that treaties cannot be openly and persistently violated, and must be so chastised that she will never offend again. Something more than the capture of Peking is necessary. Wherever there have been anti-foreign uprisings punitive expeditions should penetrate, and the guilty, responsible for the massacre of innocent women and children, be made to pay the full penalty for their barbarous cruelty. The arrogancy and self-conceit of ages must be trailed in the dust. Only thus can we insure it that the "sun will never shine down again" upon such scenes as we have lately witnessed.

What Shall be Done with China?

CHINA humiliated, a just punishment inflicted, and what then? This is the question that is to occupy the minds of diplomats for many months to come. There are two alternatives: First, if alive, the Emperor Kwang Hsü must be reinstated, and, supported by a strong foreign joint protectorate, China must enter upon a course of reform. The fiscal, military, educational, and other departments of the government must all be supervised by foreigners until China is able properly to govern herself; or, second, China must be partitioned among Western Powers, and the integrity of the empire destroyed. All that I shall attempt to do is to tabulate the *pros* and *cons*, as far as I am able, of these two distinct policies.

I. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE RESTORATION OF KWANG HSÜ, AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE INTEGRITY OF CHINA.

(1) It is extremely popular with the mass of the Chinese officials and people.

(2) It is the easiest, quickest, and most economical form of settlement.

(3) It interferes least with present trade relations and with already existing concessions.

(4) It preserves the "open door," and insures equal trade advantages for all.

(5) It is the policy openly avowed by Great Britain, the United States, and Japan.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THIS POLICY.

(1) Joint protectorates never work harmoniously—the interests of the different nations are too diverse—and are certain to lead to endless jealousies and future complications.

(2) The Chinese officials would pursue their old game of playing off the repre-

sentatives of one nation against those of another.

(3) The Chinese Government needs something more than mere supervision to adapt it to present-day requirements. It should be completely remodelled. At present it is like a bundle of loosely bound sticks, and lacks cohesion.

(4) Russia, Germany, and France will never be satisfied with this form of settlement. They have other ambitions in regard to the East.

(5) It is at best only a temporary expedient, and postpones the evil day.

II. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE PARTITION OF CHINA.

(1) It has already begun, and cannot be permanently checked. Russia, Germany, and France will never relinquish the advantages already gained.

(2) After a division of the various spheres of interest had been amicably arranged, future causes of quarrel would be removed.

(3) It is immensely easier for separate nations to introduce reforms into their respective jurisdictions, than for a joint protectorate to do the same for the whole country. A composite administration, a composite legislative system, military organization, etc., would never prove efficient.

(4) The possibility of China eventually falling into the clutches of any one nation—Russia, for instance—would be forever averted.

(5) Peace and order would be permanently secured, and the natives would have the same advantages as if residing in the various countries to whose jurisdiction they had been assigned.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST PARTITION.

(1) The initial difficulty in the adjustment of the claims of the various nations would lead, perhaps, to war and bloodshed.

(2) The future possibility of friction as to boundaries.

(3) The unpopularity of the policy in

China itself would necessitate a war of conquest, to be followed by endless rebellions.

(4) The interference with foreign trade, owing to the differential tariffs adopted by the various sections.

(5) The difficulty of adjustment as to capital already invested by foreign nations in China.

I must leave to diplomats the weighing of these *pros* and *cons*, which, perhaps, I have stated fully enough to show how complex the problem is.

It is always dangerous to indulge in a forecast, but if I might undertake the rôle of the prophet, the possible future of China would seem to me to be something like the following: However the question may be settled diplomatically, Russia will continue her aggressions in the North, Germany in the East, France in the South. The Chinese Empire will be confined to the provinces bordering on the great Yangtze River. Great Britain, the United States, and Japan will strive to preserve the integrity of this part of China and

defend it from further inroads. Whether what remains will ever become a strong and enlightened nation, or will continue to be the open sore of the East as Turkey is of the West, no one can foresee.

The policy of the United States concerns us most. She holds in her grasp great power for good or evil. Her wisest course would seem not to take part in a joint protectorate of China, or, on the other hand, to assist in any partition of her dominions. She should exert the whole of her influence to secure a speedy retribution for the present outbreak, and to help bring about the most equitable settlement possible of the conflicting claims of the various nations. She stands by her position almost as an arbiter, and should strive to play her part so that the result of the present upheaval shall be not merely further land grabbing, or the increase of commerce, but the advancement of Christian civilization in the Far East.

